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142 114 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

131 114 •174 **Habitat.** The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Mandan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

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first visit by La Verendrye to the Mandans in November and December, 1738. We have not caused to be examined the Spanish chronicles to ascertain whether it is either certain or probable that subjects of that nation had come in contact with the Mandans prior to Verendrye's said visit; but if we are to credit the positive statement made to him by a Mandan Indian at the most northerly or prairie village of that tribe where he first made a stand among them—to the effect that the narrator and other Mandans had had a conflict with one or more white men to the south, who were on horseback and in armor, and that he had barely escaped with his life. Spaniards had penetrated into the near neighborhood of the Mandans on the upper Missouri before Verendrye visited them.

Verendrye—Where He Met Them. It is impossible to locate with any certainty the spot where, or even the immediate vicinity in which Verendrye met the delegation of Mandans who left their most northerly village and returned with his messengers (sent on to announce his coming) to a designated meeting place not far from that village and greeted and parleyed with him November 28th, 1738, and where the Mandan chief invited him to "his fort"—the nearest by and "smaller than the others," and informed him that there were "six forts." All that can be gathered clearly from Verendrye's record (being his official letter to the French governor general of New France, etc.) is that, having started from Michilimackinac on this expedition to the Mandans on the Missouri river, and having arrived at the Assiniboine river and built a fort there sixty leagues below the "forks" of that river—(which we believe to have referred to the confluence of the main stream with the Souris or Mouse river, some 150 miles west) southwest from what is now Winnipeg—he left this "fort" October 18th; three days thereafter the Assiniboine Indians joined him; that on October 21st, he reached the "first mountain," which he states was 26 leagues from his fort and south by southwest; that he next reached the "second mountain," traveling a west by northwest course 24 leagues (we are inclined to think this second mountain was Turtle mountain), and that from this mountain to the Mandans "is southwest;" that November 18th he arrived at an Indian village far (some sixty leagues) out of the direct route to the Mandans, to the west-southwest 120 leagues, to which point he was forced to go, being in the hands of Assini-

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131 •174 boine guides; that November 20th he left that village to go 17 leagues, where the meeting place of the Mandans had been chosen, at which point he arrived November 28th; that on the evening of November 30th he continued on toward the first Mandan fort, at about seven leagues from which he lost some papers; that the Indian "orator" there said: "We must leave before four o'clock in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort;" that at noon next day at one and one-half leagues, near a small river (the Mouse?) they rested two hours, where a number of Mandans had come to meet them; that Verendrye was carried thence by the Indians to a point "four acres from the fort," where "the old men" were waiting; that after firing a salute to the fort he marched to and entered it December 3rd, 1738, at four p. m. He had thus spent fifty-two days in going from his "fort" on the Assiniboine to what must have been not far from the neighborhood of Washburn, N. D., 43 miles above Bismarck, or from Coal Harbor, some 25 miles northwest of Washburn, during which journey much time was lost on the detour above mentioned, "so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The distance from his fort on the Assiniboine to the first Mandan fort can probably be roughly estimated at about 400 miles by a substantially direct route; and on that basis Verendrye's estimate of sixteen days' travel would be 25 miles per day.

In Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1742 he states that the explorer reached the "country of the Mantanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." (Contributions to Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, p. 307.) From which it would appear that a thoroughfare overland from the Assiniboine to the Missouri existed anciently as the usual mode of passing over the divide between the basin of Lake Winnepeg and the Missouri valley.

In a note by Neill to the above observation he says:

131 101 174 "The Mandans, or White Beards, of the Dakotah family are noted for being gray-haired. Sometimes children six years of age have this appearance. They were nearly destroyed by smallpox in 1837, and in 1874 they lived near the Aricaras and Gros Ventres, in the vicinity of Fort Berthold, on the Missouri. For-

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merly all dwelt in mud cabins, surrounded by ditches. A few yet live in dirt lodges." This account was published in 1876.

In another note by Neill in connection with his account of Verendrye's expedition to the mountains, and explanatory of the text, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gros Ventres," etc. His note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps be the Assiniboines. That the Gros Ventres "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." He then quotes from a report made by Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made in 1850 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to this effect: "The chief of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota some years ago met a village of Gros Ventres toward the sources of the Missouri. They learned that the smoke of the Gros Ventres lodges once arose at Sandy Lake, and that they had a large village of earthen houses at mouth of the Savanna river, which empties into the St. Louis." This would indicate that the Gros Ventres once inhabited the country bordering on the west end of Lake Superior, and by comparing what is said in these Neill notes concerning their residence on the Red and Assiniboine, with the reference to their habitat near the St. Louis river, we may find warrant for observing that the traditions about the Mandans having lived northward and eastward of the Missouri river country, where they were first found by white men, may really have become confused with the Gros Ventres traditions—the latter having joined the Mandans prior to white exploration of those regions.

Then Neill in his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742 thus refers to Bougainville's version of that expedition and the route taken by quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were by Neill understood as being the Mahas, or Omahas. And Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill in his note says this: "Shell" may mean the Musselshell river

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131 101 ●174 of modern maps. He then says regarding the Panis: "The Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc.' Drake speaks of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte. They now number about eighteen hundred and dwell on a reservation on a branch of the Platte in Nebraska." (They had gone south from that reservation at or about the time of publication of Neill's account—1876).

From Bougainville's account Neill finds him stating: "Opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaernousques, or Flatheads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs, or Knisteneaux, and Utasiaoutchactas, or Assiniboel, three villages." (Id., pp. 312-13-14.)

The summary of evidences as to the course pursued by La Verendrye on his expedition to the mountains in 1742-3, as found in the said Historical Society Contributions, is as follows as regards the Mandans:

"Starting from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine river, they went up the Mouse river in a southerly direction, and then crossed over to the Missouri a little below where is now Fort Berthold. They then ascended the Missouri," etc. (Id., p. 316.)

From Bougainville's Memoirs on the State of New France, 1757, the following extract is taken and published by Brower in his "Missouri River:"

"Voyage de la Verendrye. The one who most forwarded this discovery is the Sieur de la Verenderie; from the Fort de la Reine he reached the Missouri; he met first of all upon this river the Mandannes or Blancs Barbus (Bearded Whites) to the number of seven villages fortified by terraced stockades with a ditch; next the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Pikes, i. e., fish) to the number of three villages; in the upper part of the river he found the Mahantas making also three villages; and along the Missouri, in descending it to the mouth of the river Wabiek, or Shell (Coquille) twenty-three villages of Panis." (P. 65.) "Opposite the Panis are the Gens de l'Arc (People of the Bow), Atchapeivinioques in Cristinaux and Utasibaoutchactas in Assibinboels, three villages." (Id. p. 65.)

131 174 **Where Lewis and Clarke Found Them.** Lewis and Clarke, in their expedition of 1804, are the first visitors to the Mandan vil-

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lages who give any definite information of the precise location of those Indians on the Missouri river. And while they do clearly state where a Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri was located, their reference to the Mandan village on the easterly side does not show to a certainty whether it was at a point above or below the one which they speak of as being on the opposite side, but they state that the latter is "at the distance of three miles across." They then proceed to substantially fix the location of the village on the westerly side by calling it "the lower Mandan village" and by locating the village called "Mahaha" as being "on the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village," and which "Mahaha" village is "at the mouth of the Knife river." That river, known as the Big Knife, flows into the Missouri on the westerly side about three miles above Stanton, and about 63 miles above Bismarck, North Dakota.

Lewis and Clarke declare that when they visited and wintered among the Mandans in 1804-5 the Mandan villages were two in number. This statement is so clear that it can not be misunderstood. They erected Fort Mandan about three miles below the first or lower Mandan village reached by their expedition in its up-river progress, but on the opposite or easterly side of the Missouri. (See the narrative from Clarke's journal, farther on.) Nowhere in their journal is it made plain how far above the "Fort" the Mandan village on that side was situated. But it cannot be far from correct to assume that, as the distance between the two villages (as stated by them) is "three miles across," and assuming that the river itself was about one mile in width, the village at the easterly side was about two miles above the other on the Missouri. This would indicate—still basing our conclusion upon the data of Lewis and Clarke—that the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri was about two miles below a point opposite to the mouth of the Big Knife. And the same data would place the fort at about seven and one-half miles below said outlet; and this is in harmony with the generally understood fact. Dr. Coues says that post was "seven or eight miles" below the mouth of the Big Knife. The more exact location of those Mandan villages may perhaps be shown by evidences to be brought into this paper later on.

But a difficulty has arisen in determining whether there were

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or not more than one Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri, and also as to how far below the Big Knife they were situated, if there were two.

The writer of this article, in preparing his note (6) on Fort Clarke, the trading post in that vicinity, in editing the reprint of Maj. Wilson's article on "Old Fort Pierre and Her Neighbors" (S. D. Hist. Col., Vol. 1, p. 318) found, from various historical data then at hand, that Fort Clarke, which seemed to be shown by all the authorities to be situated substantially eight miles below the mouth of the Big Knife river on the westerly side of the Missouri, was but a very short distance—less than one-fifth of a mile—below a Mandan village on that side, while other data pointed to another Mandan village on the same side "in the wooded bend some three miles below" Fort Clarke, and which seemed to be known as "the lower Mandan village." That "bend" would thus be about eleven miles below the mouth of the Big Knife. But the Lewis and Clarke account shows, as we have seen, the lower Mandan village to have been, in 1804-5, but four miles below that point. Fort Clarke was established in 1831, and while it is possible that the one Mandan village of 1804 became divided into two at or some time after Fort Clarke was built, so as to account for the data found by the writer as stated, yet it would seem improbable that one of the two which such separation would result in would not be on the same spot where those explorers found a Mandan village on the westerly side. Yet they place the one village they saw at four miles, while the other data referred to shows the upper of two villages about seven and three-fourths miles and the lower one eleven miles below the mouth of Big Knife. And it is at about the latter distance below that stream where the Missouri bends from a southeasterly to an easterly direction, thus furnishing the locality for a "wooded bend" where, at some time between 1831 and the date of migration of the Mandans further up stream, about fourteen years later, one of their two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri was situated. If, therefore, there was in fact but one Mandan village on the westerly side in 1804 it seems probable that the estimate of Lewis and Clarke in placing it but four miles below the mouth of Big Knife is erroneous, as we believe the data of a later period concerning the location of Fort Clarke and its very near proximity to a Mandan village just above it is

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more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river five of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were Mandan villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

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must probably, therefore, regard Thompson's account (which included two Mandan villages below the Knife and on the westward side of the Missouri, and doubtless all those on both sides of the Knife) as contemplating the two villages on the south bank of the Knife as but one, since, if he regarded them (as did Lewis and Clarke) as two, his total would be **six** villages in the whole group, including the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri. In this connection the fact that Thompson's journal speaks of "the third village" (evidently counting from the **north** southward) as "Mahnon of the Mandans and a few Fall Indians," is significant as indicating a **second** Mandan village on the westerly side, and also as indicating that he had regarded the **two** villages of Lewis and Clarke on the south bank of the Knife as one. These considerations would, we believe, substantially harmonize Thompson's and Captain Lewis' journals on the basis of **five** villages in the whole group in question. Of these the **three** (of Lewis and Clarke) and the **two** of Thompson's most northerly villages are called "Fall" Indians by the latter, while Captain Lewis says (as shown above) that the lower of those three is the Mahaha, or Ahnahaways village—known to the French as Gens des Souliers, and who were, according to Dr. Coues, Matthews and others, closely related to the Hidatsas, Minnetarees or Gros Ventres, and offshoots of the Crows, and differ but little from the Mandans. While the **two** (of Lewis and Clarke) and (probably) the **one** of Thompson's upper village or villages in the general group are called by Lewis and Clarke Minnetarees, "surnamed Metaharta," and the one north of the Knife is called by them "the proper Minnetaree nation." (Coues' ed., vol. 1, pp. 197-8.) These Minnetarees are said by Captain Lewis to be "part of the great nation called Fall Indians." (Id., p. 199.) And Coues' note at that point declares that the term is "traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchawan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as being about the falls of the south branch of that river" (Id., p. 199); that they were called, without reason, by the French Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; while Matthews says the tribe thus referred to by Umfreville is that known as "the Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairie;" that there were "Minnetarees of the Prarie" and "of the Missouri"; that as designated by Lewis and Clarke they are "two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the Fall

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Indians, and the latter being the Hidatsas, with whom they (Lewis and Clarke) are now wintering," and that it is necessary, when reading Lewis and Clarke, to bear this in mind. (Id., pp. 199-200.)

We have made this detailed explanation of those of said group of villages which were not properly Mandan, but whose occupants are said to have closely resembled them, in order to make clearer what was meant by all of the early visitors in referring to the general group as "The Mandan Villages."

As indicating the oldest definitely known habitat of the Mandans, on the first deserted Mandan village site found by Lewis and Clarke in proceeding up the Missouri, we find in their journal a reference to their having found at or near their camp, eight miles below the lower end of what is now known as Sibley Island —which latter is some fourteen miles below Bismarck, North Dakota—on the east bank of the Missouri, in Burleigh county, "the remains of an old village which is high and strong, and has been fortified; this our chief" (an Aricara) "tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri." (Vol. 1, p. 153, London ed.) That this location may be fixed very definitely, that journal may be quoted further as stating that that camp was "opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation;" that "near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain" those "remains" were found. (Id.)

The narratives in Lewis and Clarke, from day to day after this first indication of former occupancy of the Mandans was seen by them, will show (as seen in extracts therefrom inserted hereinafter) that many such deserted villages were found by them in the neighborhood of Mandan and Bismarck, North Dakota. The "chief" referred to by them as having pointed out this first deserted site as that of the Mandans being an Aricara who was guiding the expedition, was beyond doubt possessed of knowledge enabling him to speak to the fact in the premises. Captain Lewis' statement, based upon the observations of the expedition and the declarations of the Aricara guide, by way of summary as to the former abodes and the migration of the Mandans therefrom upriver, is to the effect that "within the recollection of living wit-

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114 131 174 nesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below Fort Mandan), seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri," which two moved up the river "opposite the Ricaras" after becoming united, the seven (reduced to five) emigrating also "to the Ricara nation" in a body, forming "two villages"—all being driven thence as the result of attacks by Sioux and the ravages of smallpox; that being still insecure "the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present location. The two who had emigrated together settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about 40 or 50 lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second the same number; and both may raise (i. e., can muster) about 350 men."

E. R. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D., who is connected with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, and who has examined many village ruins of both Mandans and Aricaras between Mandan and the Knife river, states in a letter to the writer hereof in 1908:

"There is one village on the road from Heart river to Fort Clarke, about half way, which I think to have been a Mandan village, while the next below, only about two miles distant, has been decidedly an Aricara village. Some of the Mandans may have stopped there on their move up to Fort Clarke region."

174 **They Came from Whence?** From what direction did the Mandans come to the locality on the Missouri river where were found their deserted villages in 1804? Two theories are, or have been extant upon this subject: One that they emigrated up the Missouri from the region of the mouth of the Ohio, or lower down, on the Mississippi; the other that they at one time lived to the northeast of those portions of the Missouri where those deserted villages and the Mandan villages near the Big Knife were located, and were driven to the Missouri by the Crees, Assiniboines and other tribes inhabiting the region of Lake Winnipeg and west and southwest therefrom.

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We believe they came up the Missouri from a point at least as far south as southern South Dakota, and probably much farther; that they progressed through what is now South Dakota and preceded the Aricaras here; that the supposition that they were in the Winnipeg country before they settled on the Missouri is not tenable; and that to the extent that their appearance on or in the neighborhood of the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan rivers is provable they were there seeking game and the extension of their then present domain on and in the vicinity of the upper Missouri, or battling with enemies at some distance from their own home base—a perfectly natural and probably necessary pursuit, as Indians have from time immemorial been wont to view the issues of tribal welfare and protection.

We shall not stop here to mass the evidences which, respectively, tend or are regarded as tending to support one or the other of these theories of the territorial origin or more ancient habitat of the Mandans, but will proceed to bring forward, in chronological order, the various accounts and narratives of the explorers and visitors who came in contact with them, and some few of the traditions and legends of those Indians themselves, as composing the body of the evidences at large in this paper, after first presenting in brief some authorities going to support the primary assumption that the Mandans were aborigines of South Dakota, and then citing the conclusions of some authorities as to who and what those Indians were among the American Indians; recurring later on to this point as to whence they came, in the light of all that is presented touching their remote habitat and involving at least some of the collateral evidences as to their origin.

Once Inhabited South Dakota. As supporting the assumption that the Mandans once inhabited some parts of what is now South Dakota and may be regarded as aborigines of this region of the Missouri valley, we will mention the conclusions of some explorers and writers, with some Indian traditions on that head.

Catlin believed it a fair deduction that "they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now (1833) are." That "there are many remains on the river below this place" (i. e., the Mandan villages below the Knife river, now North Dakota), "(and in fact to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis) which show clearly the peculiar construc-

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tion of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position." That the Aricaras in ascending the Missouri occupied lodge villages which had been abandoned by the Mandans. Hayden, whose exhaustive labors in tracing the origin of some of the tribes of western Indians have justly given him a high place among the authorities, and who gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name these Indians applied to themselves, infers therefrom that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period," while another eminent authority, Morgan (Syst. consang. and Affin., 285), assigns as the native name of the tribe Metootahak, or "South Villagers." The Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 796, concludes that "all that can be gathered from them is the tradition that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake, and that "this tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke." This reference to a lake is here inserted, since the tradition in connection with it may relate to some one of the inland waters of the northwest, or to the ocean on the Atlantic coast, or to the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi, as will be shown farther on. E. E. Blackman, state archaeologist of Nebraska, in his report in 1902 refers to the Mandans as part of the Siouan stock, stating: "The Mandans were one of the first bands to break off from the parent stock, and the only excuse we have for counting them in our history is the probability that they crossed our borders in their way up the Missouri river, some time prior to the coming of the Skidi band in 1400." He adds: "The above is legendary and not a proven fact." Practically all of the authorities ascribe to them a Siouan origin, which in itself seems to warrant the probability that they once inhabited the country west of Minnesota and in the Missouri valley. The oldest ruins of Mandan lodge-villages on the upper Missouri, found by Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others, were not far from sixty miles north of the South Dakota line. (See S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 389, where in Part I. of this paper it is said to be about seventy miles.) Joseph H. Taylor, of Washburn, N. D., who with Daniel Williams (now of Painted Woods, N. D.) discovered in 1872 on Apple creek, seven or eight miles southeast from Bismarck, N. D., two old Indian village sites, states that inquiry among the Indians at that time led to information that those villages were Mandan, and

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that the occupants had been practically exterminated by the Sioux "near 140 years ago," that some young squaws and children were saved by the captors and that among their descendants was Medicine Bear, the well known Yanktonais chief of thirty years ago. As the Mandans are known to have been located at and across from Bismarck (at Mandan) some twenty years before Lewis and Clarke visited them, this Sioux tradition imparted to Taylor seems to further tend to show that the Mandans were driven up the Missouri from below Mandan by the Sioux. Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, is understood to have entertained the belief that the Mandans were traced by the remains of their habitations, and that they were thought to have lived along the central Missouri. Dr. Eastman, himself a Sioux Indian who was reared among them and who in his boyhood days wandered with members of his tribe over large areas of country, affirms that the Yanktonais Sioux traditions are to the effect that the Mandans inhabited the lower James river and other Missouri river country on the east side, which tradition is regarded as having existed some two hundred years. Little Owl, a Mandan Indian on the Fort Berthold reservation, and living in 1905 on the southeast side of the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, was interviewed, through an interpreter, by the writer of this article; and in giving an account of the traditional ancient habitat of his tribe stated that Bear-on-the-Water, who he said is "the oldest man," says they came from where the Mississippi empties into the sea; spoke of a "boat without oars" (sailboat?) in which they could go across the sea, "or anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere;" that the Mandans came all the way up the river to Heart river; that the villages down the river to the Mississippi that had ditches around them were Mandan villages; that one of the Mandan villages (bands) went north from the Heart river to Winnipeg, etc. Bear's Ghost, another Indian in the same neighborhood, interviewed the same day, and who claimed to be a full-blood Mandan, but who disclaimed having such information as certain older men whom he named possessed in the premises, entered into the traditional account of the origin of the Mandans, which seems to have involved the creation of things in general; and he declared it was "in the mouth of the sea, where this river (Missouri) empties into the sea" that the two "men" who made the earth, etc., met,

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and that the Mandan language was the first one made, etc. (See these narratives at large further on this paper.)

Mr. E. R. Steinbroeck, of Mandan, N. D., who has spent much time in examining both Aricara and Mandan village sites below and above Mandan, and who has compared the pottery and other utensils used by both, declares: "It seems to me beyond a doubt that the Mandans and the Arickara came in contact long before they crossed the boundaries between North and South Dakota," and doubts not that they came from "somewhere south before they settled at and near Heart River."

Further reference to the Mandans is found in the "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. 1, p. 797, where, after quoting Maximilian as declaring that "They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the seacoast," the account proceeds:

"Their linguistic relation to the Winnebago and the fact that their movements in their historic era have been westward up the Missouri correspond with their tradition of a more easterly origin, and would seemingly locate them in the vicinity of the upper lakes. It is possible that the tradition which has long prevailed in the region of northwestern Wisconsin regarding the so called 'ground-house Indians' who once lived in that section and dwelt in circular earth lodges, partly underground, applies to the people of this tribe, although other tribes of this general region formerly lived in houses of this character. Assuming that the Mandan formerly resided in the vicinity of the upper Mississippi, it is probable that they moved down this stream for some distance before passing to the Missouri. The fact that when first encountered by the whites they relied to some extent on agriculture as a means of subsistence, would seem to justify the conclusion that they were at some time in the past in a section where agriculture was practiced. It is possible, as Morgan contends, that they learned agriculture from the Hidatsa, but the reverse has more often been maintained. Catlin's theory that they formerly lived in Ohio and built mounds, and moved thence to the northwest is without any basis. The traditions regarding their migrations, as given by Maximilian, commence with their arrival at the Missouri. The point where this stream was first reached was at the mouth of White river, South Dakota. From this point they moved up the Missouri to Moreau river, where they came in con-

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tact with the Cheyenne and where also the formation of 'bands or unions' began. Thence they continued up the Missouri to Heart river, North Dakota, where they were residing at the time of the first known visit of the whites, but it is probable that trappers and traders visited them earlier."

In the foregoing account in the "Handbook"—certainly a very authoritative and recent exposition of the Mandans as to former habitat—it is seen that no reference is made to the supposed expulsion of them from the Winnipeg country by the Crees or Assiniboines, or to their ever having had a home there, while emphasis seems to be laid upon the theory that they once inhabited the upper Mississippi, moved down that stream "for some distance before passing to the Missouri," and that (on Maximilian's authority regarding their traditions) they first came to the Missouri "at the mouth of White river" in South Dakota, proceeding thence up the latter stream, and that they first came in contact with the Cheyennes at the Moreau river—which is some 75 miles south of the northern boundary of South Dakota. Other accounts which we refer to below show that, according to the Cheyenne traditions the latter Indians, when they crossed the Missouri about 225 years ago, crossed it near the mouth of the Cheyenne river, and that they there met the Mandans, still farther south; and that the Gros Ventres (or Minnetarees or Hidatsas) while coming from the north first encountered the Mandans on the upper Missouri and crossed that stream to join them. Whether the eminent editor of the "Handbook" (Hodge) and his able assistants intended, by refraining from referring to the Winnepeg theory in the foregoing account of the Mandans because of lack of confidence in it, or whether such course was taken because that theory is brought out in the "Handbook" in one or two instances in connection with accounts of other northwestern tribes can only be conjectured.

Lieut. Clarke, in "Indian Sign Language," speaking of the Gros Ventres, relates that Poor Wolf, then 61 years of age, and born near the mouth of Knife river, whom he found to be "a venerable, professor-like looking old fellow," dressed in a nondescript patchwork of mis-matches, including "a pair of old-fashioned iron spectacles," informed him that the Gros Ventres "migrated toward the Missouri river from the north, and here" (at or near Fort Berthold on the Missouri) "first met the Mandans. The

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Arickarees were then below Fort Pierre." We italicize. We here refer to Poor Wolf in no sense of disparagement in connection with his apparel, but rather in connection with the well known fact that he has long been regarded, and doubtless with good reason, as a prominent member and chief among his tribesmen and the "Confederated Village" at large, and as one whose knowledge of the tribal traditions is of a high order. We desire to point out the above quotation from that venerable and authoritative chief, by wayof comment upon Lieut. Clarke's statement on the next page of his account of the Gros Ventres (p. 195), wherein he says: "Their **known** migrations are limited to the Missouri River Valley, and from Knife river up to their present village (Fort Berthold), "and I am quite convinced that the Mandans **moved from the north and joined them,** crossing the river **for that purpose.**" We again italicize. Our point is that not only Poor Wolf, but many other authorities to be found in connection with the history of the Gros Ventres in their relation to migration and contact with the Mandans seems to make it very plain and practically indisputable that the Gros Ventres came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region, hailed the Mandans across the Missouri, and after being visited by the latter, who crossed in "bull-boats" to parley with them, were allowed to cross **and join them.** And we can not but think that Lieut. Clarke, when making the statement last above quoted, had become somewhat confused amid the maze of traditions of the three Confederated Tribes which had grown up, and that he here imputes to the Mandans what really was done by the Gros Ventres.

The fact, too, that Poor Wolf's tradition to the effect that the Aricaras were below the Fort Pierre country when the Gros Ventres found the Mandans on the upper Missouri was recorded by Lieut. Clarke, indicates his inclination to listen to the suggestion that, as between the Mandans and the Aricaras the former were dominant over a long stretch of the river to the southward and were familiar with the fact that the Aricaras had not yet reached the Cheyenne river northward when the Mandans were joined by the Gros Ventres.

Cheyennes and Mandans. Lieut. Clarke, treating of the Cheyennes in "Indian Sign Language" (pp. 99-100), thus refers to the Mandans as incidental to the migration westward of the Cheyennes:

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"Occupying then the country at the headwaters of the Mississippi several hundred years ago, they were slowly forced westward by the Sioux, perhaps southward by the Mandans, the latter being driven from the north by the same power which pressed upon the Sioux, viz., the great Algonquin family, assisted in later years by French arms. It is more than probable that this migration was due in a measure to and determined by their search for game, as traditional evidence in regard to their relations with the Sioux and Mandans is not clear and conclusive." He then parenthetically refers to information given him by Lieut. Bailey, Fifth Infantry, "obtained from what is considered a reliable source," going to show (among other things) "that the Cheyennes met the Mandans two hundred and two years ago, as they—the Cheyennes —crossed the Missouri river. For several years they were at war with the Mandans, after this made peace and have maintained peaceable relations ever since. Before the whites commenced making war against these tribes they frequently camped together, and many Cheyennes and Mandans intermarried."

As this statement was made about 1881, the time thus fixed as that of the first contact between the Cheyennes and Mandans would be about 1680, and the same information shows that the Cheyennes, going westward, met the Mandans on the Missouri. This at least indicates clearly that the Mandans were domiciled on and probably west of the Missouri before the Cheyennes were driven there by pressure of other Indians from the east or north, and this situation seems out of harmony with the idea that the Mandans were behind the Cheyennes to northward and were drving them southward or westward, as supposed by Lieut. Clarke, at another point above quoted.

Again: As bearing out the supposition that the Mandans were established on the west side of the Missouri when the Gros Ventres came into that part of the country, we find in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, page 547, this reference to the Gros Ventres (as Hidatsas) and to the Mandans: "By the Mandan they are known as Minitari, signifying 'they crossed the river,' traditionally said to refer to their having crossed Missouri river from the east." Indeed, it is taken for proven that the Mandans were living on the west side of the Missouri at that time, as in the same account (p. 548) we find this reference to the former traditional habitat of the Gros Ventres, their subsequent alliance

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with the Mandans west of the river and the fact that they "learned agriculture" from the latter:

"According to their own tradition the Hidatsas came from the neighborhood of a lake northeast of their later home and identified by some of their traditionists with Mini-wakan, or Devil's Lake, North Dakota. They had here the circular earth-covered log house, in use also by the Mandan, Arikara and other tribes living close along the upper Missouri, in addition to the skin tipi occupied when on the hunt. Removing from there, perhaps in consequence of attacks by the Sioux, they moved southwest and allied themselves with the Mandans, who then lived on the west side of the Missouri, about the mouth of Heart river. The three tribes, Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara, were all living in this vicinity about 1765. From the Mandan the Hidatsa learned agriculture. • • • In home life, religious beliefs and customs, house building, agriculture, the use of the skin boat, and general arts, they closely resembled the Mandan with whom they were associated."

Further reference is made in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, p. 251, under the heading "Cheyenne," to the locality on the Missouri where that tribe crossed that stream, viz: "The Cheyenne moved west toward the Missouri river, where their further progress was opposed by the Sutaio—the Staitan of Lewis and Clarke—a people speaking a closely cognate dialect, who had preceded them to the west and were then apparently living between the river and the Black Hills. After a period of hostility the two tribes made an alliance, some time after which the Cheyennes crossed the Missouri below the entrance of the Cannonball and later took refuge in the Black Hills about the heads of Cheyenne river of South Dakota." We have then various references to the point or locality of crossing the Missouri by the Cheyennes and where they came in contact with the Mandans with that event, the general and usual place of their reputed crossing being at or about the mouth of the Cheyenne river; the "Handbook" reciting the Moreau river as the point to which the Mandans had progressed up-river when they "came in contact" with the Cheyennes, and the above reference to the locality "below the entrance of the Canonball." All of these localities save the one last indicated are in South Dakota, while as to the locality "below" the Cannonball it may or may not have been within this state, since

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the mouth of that river is nearly fifty miles north of the line between the Dakotas. 114

Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, in his note on the Cheyenne Indians (S. Dak. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146) says concerning the locality in which that tribe crossed the Missouri: "For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at or about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne river, South Dakota." He also says: "Alexander Henry says the Salteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri river at about 1690." 174

Their Upper Missouri Villages. We will briefly trace the localities in which the Mandans have lived on the Missouri river since their most ancient and definite village remains, actually discovered by the whites, were occupied, and so far as information has come to hand. 361

We regard it as almost certain that when La Verendrye visited the Mandans in 1738 and 1742 they were stationed in the neighborhood of and across from what is now Mandan, N. D., and were, according to that explorer, in "five forts on the two banks of the river"—how many were on each side not appearing. Lewis and Clarke's interpreters informed them that forty years prior to 1804 they were settled in nine villages—seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri, about eighty miles below the Fort Mandan built by that expedition. The closest calculation we can make of the actual distances traveled by Lewis and Clarke after they found the first or most southerly Mandan ruin—as shown by the data in their journal—until they had reached the most northerly of what they call the nine deserted villages, shows that the stretch of river covered by those sites was about twenty-eight miles (instead of twenty miles, as their journal states), and taking as true Dr. Coues' statement that the first Mandan ruin found by them was eight miles below the lower end of what he says is Sibley Island, or about twenty-two miles below Bismarck, we find that the northermost deserted Mandan village in that group must have been located about six miles north of Mandan, N. D. But, as will be seen from Lewis and Clarke's journal inserted hereinafter, they actually point out only eight village sites in that group,

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tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages. 105

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest. 773 142

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.) 197

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis- 174

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souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

Verendrye's Account. "On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no difference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

"I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

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gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

Aricaree Medicine-Lodge. "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

Fortifications—Stockades. "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother." "The Aricarees and Mandans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

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dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

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342 of the interior and it fitted well with the descriptions here given of the old lodges. It was evidently used at the present time for a storage house, at least to some extent, and was not a regular residence, for the log cabin home of the owner stood along side of it.

"At the other hut, across the Missouri river and several miles distant from the first one, the owner refused me permission to invade it, stating that it was used for ceremonial purposes." (p. 220.)

Prototype of Sod Houses. "After my inspection of the two earthern houses mentioned, I could not but be impressed with the fact that these old Mandan and Aricaree lodges were practically the prototypes of the settler's sod house of the prairies of recent time. The sides and roofs of these huts were covered with sod chunks of regular shapes and sizes, just such as we would cut out of the prairie for the same purpose. The porch, covered entrance, or passage-way mentioned was and is a characteristic, standing feature of these earthern lodges, and one which Catlin persistently ignored both in his paintings and text. Maximilian brought out this peculiarity of the Mandan hut in his work."

417 **Ancient Ladder.** "In one of the illustrations of an earth hut there can be seen a notched pole leaning against a scaffold, the latter used now, as in old days, for drying corn, etc. This pole is one of the primitive ladders anciently used by these Indians, and, evidently, not yet entirely discarded."

Says Wheeler relative to the causes of migration of the Mandans on the upper Missouri:

172 **Mandan Deserted Villages—Migrations.** "The monuments of these tribes, in the shape of abandoned and ruined huts and ●174 towns, are to be found, as has been stated, on the banks of the upper Missouri from about Heart or Cannon-Ball river, below Mandan and Bismarck, to Knife river or beyond. The Indians seem, notwithstanding the great labor involved in so doing, to have moved quite frequently, not necessarily, however, for long distances. As the Sioux harrassed them continually, these removals were due in part to a desire to protect themselves more effectually, and another reason was the scarcity of fuel and timber which in time was felt in each neighborhood. In making these removals, it was quite common, as Lewis and Clarke mention,

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for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village,** as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East,** as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

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dicated that La Verendrye had actually reached the Hidatsa and not the Mandan when making a winter trip to the Missouri in 1738. He based his conclusions largely on the journals of the course followed after leaving the Souris River. He believed that La Verendrye reached the Missouri River near the present town of Sanish, North Dakota. Because of the absence of large earth-lodge village ruins near Sanish, this opinion has been largely rejected by subsequent students of Mandan-Hidatsa history.

The first reference to observed temporal differences in cultures of earth-lodge sites in the area was made by Will, who wrote:

> In pursuing the above-described work an impression gradually grew that there were two rather distinct types of sites in the region, distinct enough in fact so that nearly every site could be referred readily to one or the other group. The center for one type seems to be below the Heart River, with the Huff site as perhaps the best representative. The second type is found at and above the mouth of the Heart River altogether, although the lower sites seem to overlap. . . . A reasonable conclusion therefore seems to be that the two types must represent a difference in time and culture between two periods of occupation by the same tribe. This agrees well with the historical traditions of the Mandan, and seems a fair hypothesis although much longer and more detailed work would be required to demonstrate it fully.[25]

The relative age of sites near the Heart River suggested by Will has been demonstrated to be correct by archeological explorations in the sites by Strong,[26] by Will and Hecker,[27] and by the writer. In another report the writer enumerated pottery traits and frequencies that could be used to distinguish Hidatsa sites from those of the Mandan and indicated that the sites showing pottery traits characteristic of the Hidatsa village groups were traditionally Hidatsa sites according to the information of both Mandan and Hidatsa informants.[28] Having established the frequency of pottery types characteristic of the documented Mandan sites of the early historic period, it was shown that differences in frequencies occurred between different levels within each village site and that the same changes in

25. George F. Will, *Archaeology of the Missouri Valley* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXII, Part 6 [1924]), p. 341.

26. *Op. cit.*

27. George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker, *Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota* ("North Dakota Historical Quarterly," Vol. XI [1944]).

28. Alfred W. Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (unpublished Ph D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

popularity of pottery types were occurring simultaneously in all of the Mandan villages near the Heart River. Relative dating of sites was made on the basis of the frequency of these types. It was found that the oldest agricultural population in the area lived in a large number of small settlements situated adjacent to the wooded bottoms where agriculture could be practiced. Lodges were rectangular in outline and were frequently as large as seventy-five by thirty-five feet; floors were excavated to a depth of from three to four feet; lodges were widely scattered, and the villages were unfortified. The close similarity of pottery over a wide area extending from the mouth of Knife River to the Oahe Bend in South Dakota indicated that the first agricultural groups occupied the area over a short period of time and probably with little resistance from groups already in the area. It is hard to calculate the period of time during which the native agricultural groups occupied these early sites which in another report have been placed in the Cannonball focus. Nowhere is the refuse very deep, although the sites are generally covered with two or more feet of wind-blown sand carried out of the river bottoms. Probably not more than one hundred and fifty years would be required to account for the building and abandonment of these numerous small village sites. Shortly before A.D. 1500 the native population above the Grand reassembled into large fortified sites of the Huff focus.[29] Rectangular lodges were still being built, and we find archeological evidence, for the first time, of village plazas. Villages of this cultural horizon were rectangular in outline and were surrounded with fortifications consisting of a ditch, palisades, and bastions.

The evidence of a second agricultural population farther downstream, which has been classified as belonging to the Lower Grand focus or culture, indicates that the Mandan were in A.D. 1500 divided into two regional groups. The division of the Mandan into two groups is consistent with native traditions that, when the southern group moved northward to the vicinity of Heart River, they found other Mandan already living there. The archeological evidence indicates that the southern group were first to adopt the circular earth lodge and that the north-

29. George F. Will, *Tree Ring Studies in North Dakota* (Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 338 [Fargo, 1946]).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ern group adopted it between 1550 and 1600, retaining a modified rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes thereafter until the native population moved onto the Reservation. Whereas emphasis was on cord-impressed pottery at the Heart River, the southern group emphasized incised pottery. As contacts between the two groups increased when the southern group moved northward, the frequency of cord wares increased. According to tradition, the Awigaxa Mandan were last to abandon the Grand River region and move onto the Missouri at Painted Woods. There they adopted the Okipa with the prescribed lodge arrangement around an open circle, but we find that in these traditional sites the frequency of cord wares never equaled that of the northern Mandan.

The earlier earth-lodge sites occupied by the various Hidatsa village groups, though generally showing close similarity in traits to those of the Mandan, have a few diagnostic differences. These are an abundance of check stamped pottery, considerable cord-roughened wares, absence of fortifications with ditch and bastions, and lack of lodge orientation within the village. The sites on the Missouri River that can be identified as having been occupied by the Hidatsa groups from native traditions, and these diagnostic traits, are neither numerous nor of long occupation. With two exceptions, the sites are situated north of the Heart River. Downstream from the mouth of the Knife River, the villages consisted of clusters of earth lodges occupied during the summer months while practicing agriculture. Earth-lodge villages are generally absent along the Missouri upstream from the mouth of Knife River; in that region cultural manifestations are found in thin lens-shaped deposits, suggesting that temporary shelters, probably hide tepees, were used. These sites, both earth lodge and temporary, which can be identified with the historic Hidatsa and Crow groups, have been classified as belonging to the Painted Woods focus. Similar sites are also found on the Sheyenne River to the east from which these groups traditionally moved to the Missouri. Studies of pottery at Awatixa, the longest occupied site of the Hidatsa, indicate that, whereas the lower levels show close ties with the Shultz site on the Sheyenne, the late prehistoric and early historic levels show closest ties to that of the Mandan. None of the sites

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other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and period of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

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stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

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361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive characteristics.

174 1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A [778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people [344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River. 619 These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the females. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a village was first built on a new site, each household selected a site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tendency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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SECTION I.

HISTORY, LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

ORIGIN:— From the previously mentioned historical sources an attempt will now be made to give a brief account of the Mandans as they were seen by travellers. First, however, comes the discussion of their origin and migration, for the most part theoretical, but supported to some extent by evidence. The Mandans had a tradition of coming out of the earth, nothing unusual in itself, but in relating this story they also told Maximilian that they came from the east out of the earth and struck the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota. The eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan stock to which the Mandans, both linguistically and to a considerable extent in their culture, belong. The Ohio valley would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations. The earliest group to leave consisted apparently of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, and of these the Mandan were probably a number of years ahead of the other tribes. The Mandans have fairly vivid traditions of the coming of the Hidatsa many years after the former had established fixed villages on the Heart River.

They describe[1] the Hidatsa as a wild wandering people whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn, pumpkins and other vegetables, and who soon moved up to the Knife River. If this tradition has any truth in it, it seems to establish the Mandans as the first nation in the successive Siouan migrations. The order of migration is placed as follows:—

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago.
3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, Kwapa.
4. Dakota, Assiniboine.

[1] Maximilian: p. 433.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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●174 167 In the seventeenth century, the Dakotas, the last migrants, were already in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Part of group three was already on the plains when De Soto made his journey in 1542. If some of the members of group three were already established on the plains in the sixteenth century, the establishment of the Mandans on the Missouri presumably occurred at least as early and probably earlier. Thus the beginning of the westward movement of the tribe may be carried back into the fifteenth century. That the separation occurred thus early is not difficult to believe when one considers the wide divergence of language which has taken place between the different groups. To this evidence of an early establishment on the Missouri River must be added the fact that in the traditions and religion all episodes and beliefs are localized about the region of the Heart River. The gods created the Heart River region first, and there they soon placed the Mandans. Few of the traditions go further back than the Heart River period, and little of the mythology has reference to any other region. Archaeological evidence certainly corroborates this tradition of long occupation, for at the Lincoln site the refuse forms a talus deposit at least three feet in thickness and extending thirty feet from top to bottom. At the site at which investigations were carried on the ground at every point showed potsherds and refuse to a depth of two and one half to three feet. The whole area of the village shows this accumulation, sometimes even deeper, a condition of affairs which only years of occupancy could produce.

It has been shown that the Mandans lived on the Missouri for many years and that previous to this they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley. The next question is how did they make the journey between the new and the old home. Did they cut across direct to the Missouri, as the second group probably did, or did they lead the way for the third group down the Ohio to the Missouri, and thence upward along the river? This question cannot as yet be satisfactorily answered. Catlin claims to have seen remains, similar to those on the Heart River, scattered all along the Missouri from St. Louis up. Clarke describes an ancient fortification near Bon Homme

3: Will and Spinden (1905) 1906
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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY: — In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows: — Formerly they lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū′pta (Ruhptare) and Mį′tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū′pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū′pta and Mį′tutąk [184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive 614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that 174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū′mangkā′ke" (*nū′makā′ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mį′tutąk and Nū′pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding [171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′rehe nā′mini) and Four-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′re tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *Ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *Ibid.*, 104.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other.

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonize as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names.

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan: —

Three-Clan Moiety.

maxi' 'kina
tamĭ'sik
nũ'pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

si' pucka nũ'mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtám nũ'mak, Young white-headed Eagle[1]
mánakaetðk nũ'mak, People all in a bunch[2]
xð'xixã'ka nũ'mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis, (v. 145), translates the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Madhakashtak, "Clump of Wood."

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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361 of dirt—and the thousand spears (not "spires") and scalp-poles, &c. &c., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

• 174 These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles farther down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well from the number of lodges which their villages contained, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day.

There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are.

There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which shew clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination.

361 The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admi-
712 rably selected for defence; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside of it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes of fortification) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are reloading and discharging their weapons through the piquets.

361 The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of
342 any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, leaving but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be built entirely of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for